hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Iwa* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 224 431 [602] relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that 423 extended over the area of several villages judging from 226 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and 224 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not 423 violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have [496] been no cooperation among members of a family. Title 241 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The 462 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been 463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached [888] maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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226 a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible."
776 And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor
[539] men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226 There is just one more word I would like to write
● 476 about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was
776 told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

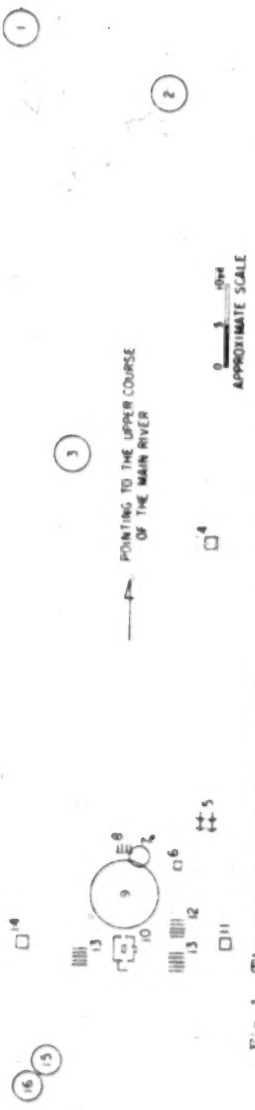

Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a ***kotan*** constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The ***kotan*** group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single ***kntan*** group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male householeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (or *utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details

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group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[15]. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

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226 227 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the [476] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working [462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] [592] [824] [476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

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In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties.

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it.

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*,

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which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass technique. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

The Meshing-net.

This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

Spring Fishing.

With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

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the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[64], was one of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1, [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

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226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft
[278] for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[562] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting Fig. 8. Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

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with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about. 224

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow openings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2). 224 417 [311] [476]

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 observed and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396). [114]

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental 224 342 [343]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds

[p 43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale; usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. 16) [555] and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

224 476

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, [Errata: the word "food-gatherang" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1 3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3 4 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42.

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there Fig. 8. And even the party that had gone after bears, if

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Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[40]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting: Group	Bear Hunting: Location of Hut	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Group	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Location of Deer Fence	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Group	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Location of Hut	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Location of Weir	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Location of Hut	Bag-Net Fishing Group
No. 1	Shukoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 4 Daughters	(B)	Tonukariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannaksahoro Shinomansahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Anianu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	 B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	?(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareanu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikantean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

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Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[40]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

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226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[3] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst"[3] the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
226 According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
438 differentiation[4], though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4, [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

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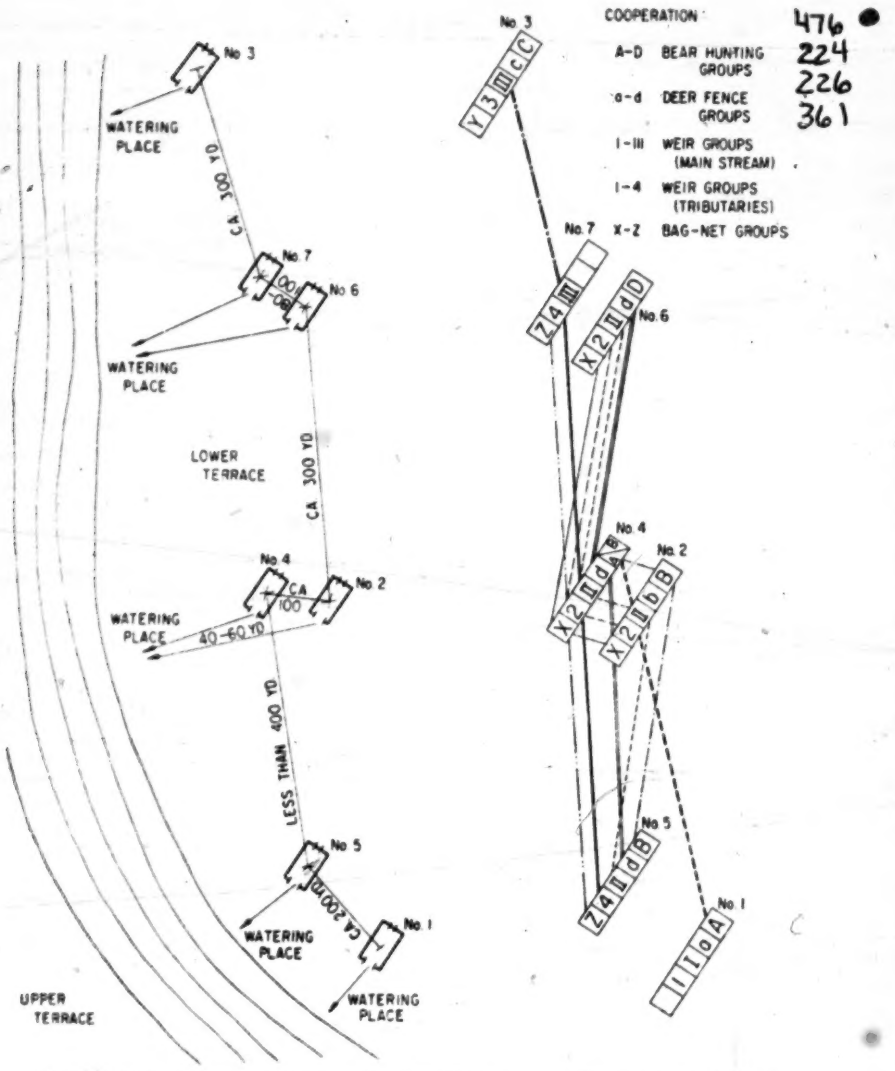

Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon.

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them.

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman.

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons.

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Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

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for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs formed a cooperative group.

Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

(42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families of Pipaushi local group.

Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usashikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

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Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

(44) 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to